

A. D. 1305. " his prefence, and in that of the affembly,
 " the laws of king David fhall be rehearfed,
 " together with the amendments and ad-
 " ditions made to the fame by their other
 " kings. And the faid lieutenant, with the
 " council there affembled, both Scots and
 " Englifh, fhall, without confulting with the
 " king, do the beft they can to rectify and
 " amend thofe laws and ufages which are
 " againft God and reafon; and fuch things
 " as they cannot rectify, or dare attempt,
 " without the king, together with thofe
 " matters they have actually agreed upon,
 " fhall be ingroffed in writing, by the com-
 " mon confent of the faid lieutenant, and
 " of the faid affembly, to be by him, and
 " fuch perfons from Scotland who fhall be
 " chofen by the community of that king-
 " dom, there and then affembled, carried
 " before the king at Weftminfter, under
 " the faid lieutenant's feal, three weeks af-
 " ter the Eaſter then following. It is far-
 " ther ordained, that they who fhall then
 " come, fhall have full power from the
 " community of the faid land to ratify and

" confirm whatever fhall be there ordained, A. D. 1305.
 " in the fame manner as if the faid com-
 " munity were collectively prefent. Farther,
 " that the king fhall nominate certain per-
 " fons to confer with the faid deputies, and
 " to review and confider the matters thus
 " prefented, fo as that fuch redrefs may
 " be granted, as that Scotland may enjoy a
 " ſtate of peace and tranquility (1)."

By thefe regulations we may form ſome notion of Edward's profound knowledge in civil polity, and how well his fucceffors have obſerved his ſchemes, with regard to the government of a neighbouring ifland, which had the misfortune, as Scotland then was, of being annexed to the crown, without being incorporated with the people of England. Edward was at Sheen (now Richmond, in Surrey) when he ratified all thefe regulations; and, rejoicing in the work of his own judgment, he accompanied the new-formed ſcheme with a general pardon to all the Scotch nobility who had borne arms againſt him. The form of it the reader will find in the notes (2). I muſt obſerve, however,

(1) En droit des leis & ufages pur le gouvernement de la terre d'eſcoce ordene eſt que l'ufage de Scots & de Brets des oren-droit ſoit defendu, ſi que mes ne ſoit ufez. Et ordene eſt auſint, que le lieutenant le roy, del hur quil ferra venus en la terre d'eſcoce, face affembler les bons gentz de la terre en aucun certain lieu, le quel il verra que a ce ſoit covenable, & que illoques en la prefence de luy & de gentz quil y ferreront affemblez, ſoient recherchez les leis qui le roy David fiſt, & auſint les amendementz & les additions que nul eſte puis faitz par les roys. Et le lieutenant le roy entre li & le confeil quil y aura auſi bien des Engleis come des Eſcotz redreſcent & amendent les leis & les ufages que ſont apartement en contre dieu & reifon, ſolonc ce quil purront enſi brief terme, & ſi avant come il purront faunz lavifement du roy. Et celes choſes quil ne purront redreſcer ne noſeront en prendre faunz le roy, en ſemblement oue celes quil averont accordez ſoient myſes en eſcrit diſtinctement & apartement per commune aſſent, du lieutenant le roy, & des gentz qui y ſeront affemblez, & defouz le feal le lieutenant ſoient portez au roy a Weſtmuſter a treis ſemaynes apres la paſch, procheynement avenir par meſme le lieutenant, & par certaines gentz d'eſcoce tantz & tier come les gentz de la comunalte de la terre qui ſeront a cele aſſemble voudront eſlire pur meſmes les choſes porter au roy as lieu & terme avantditz pur accorder & affermer ce que en ferra ordene, auſi avant come eux tutz de la comunalte purront faire ſil y feuffent prefentz, ſi que adunques entre eux qui y vendront, & les gentz que le roy voudra assigner a eux, puiſſent les dites choſes eſtre vewes & ex aminees, & que homme puiſſe ordener & affermer tien redreſcement par quel la terre d'eſcoce puiſſe meutz eſtre quies & governee a toutz jours mes. Prynne, fol. 1055.

(2) Edward, by the grace of God, king of England, lord of Ireland, and duke of Aquitain, to all that ſhall ſee or hear theſe letters, greeting.

" For the perpetual memory of the things underwritten, we let you underſtand, that the people of Scotland, after they
 " were in our homage and ligeance, and bound to us by oath of fealty, and by their charters or writings, as ſtrongly as we
 " or our council knew how to order and direct, by evil counſel, aroſe and made war againſt us; committing robberies,
 " burnings, murthers, felonies, and many other evils and miſchiefs, according to their power, in our ſaid land of Scotland,
 " and alſo in part of England, contrary to their homages, fealties, and ligeances aforeſaid; and afterwards many of them
 " returned to our faith and obedience, and were received to our peace and favour; and, at laſt, John Cummin, lord of
 " Badenoch, and the others of his party, came alſo, and were received to our peace and faith; ſo as for their ransoms, and
 " amends for their treſpaſſes and outrages againſt us, and for the eſtabliſhment of Scotland, they ſhould be at our ordinance
 " and pleaſure. Notwithſtanding theſe contempts, treſpaſſes, outrages, and diſobediences of the people of Scotland toward
 " us, have been ſo great and heavy, as there cannot be ſufficient amends, and due ſatisfaction be made for them at any time;
 " and though we cannot ſuffer ſuch crimes to paſs without ſome puniſhment; yet, ſeeing thoſe people have behaved them-
 " ſelves well and loyally ſince our laſt being in thoſe parts, and for the hopes we have of their good behaviour and ſervice for
 " the future, being willing to do them ſpecial grace, we have granted, and do hereby grant, that their lives and limbs ſhall
 " be ſafe, and that they ſhall be free from imprifonment, and not be diſinherited; ſaving to us always the lands, tenements
 " and lordſhips, the demefnes and appurtenances of the royalty of Scotland (which John Baliol, late king thereof, gave
 " away and alienated) to do our pleaſure with them. And we alſo do hereby pardon and releaſe, to the people aforeſaid,
 " that have ſubmitted and received our peace and faith, the crimes committed againſt us; the anger, rancour, and all man-
 " ner of ill-will, we any ways had againſt them; ſo as they ſhall be bound to pay what is ordered by us and our council,
 " according to our decree and determination, which follow in this form:

I. " We order and decree, That John Cummin, and the others with him, who came into our peace and faith upon the
 " covenants granted them, ſhall, to make amends for the crimes by them committed, pay three years value of their lands
 " and rents, towards the building of new caſtles in Scotland, for ſecurity of the nation, and preſerving the peace; or to
 " other uſes, as we ſhall think fit. And we farther pardon the ſaid John Cummin and David Graham, their exiles, and
 " remaining out of Scotland, according to the covenants aforeſaid. Further, It is ordained by us and our council, That the
 " people of Scotland who ſubmitted to us before John de Baliol, ſhall pay only the rents of two years of their lands; except
 " thoſe that can ſhew themſelves acquitted by our ſpecial grant or deed." The ſame order was made concerning Adam de
 " Gordon and Simon Frazer, knights, and therefore need not be repeated. " Farther, We decree and determine, That the
 " biſhops, abbots, priors, and the clergy of the kingdom of Scotland, except the biſhop of Glaſgow, ſhall pay, as their ran-
 " ſom, and for their crimes, the value of their rents and lands for one year; except thoſe that can ſhew, by ſpecial deed,
 " or other manner, that they ought to be diſcharged." The biſhop of Glaſgow was to be diſcharged upon the ſame terms
 " with John Cummin, in all reſpects; as alſo to his baniſhment, which was remitted. " Further, That Ingelram de Umfra-
 " ville, becauſe he made his ſubmiſſion a little before theſe letters were granted, ſhould pay five years value, &c. and that
 " William de Baliol and John Wiſhart ſhould pay, for the ſame reaſon, four years rent. Farther, That Hugh de Adreſſan,
 " John de Gourley, John de Naper, and John de Makilgoigny, who were of the retinue of the ſaid William Ingelram and
 " John, ſhould pay three years value. Further, For the time and manner of payment of thoſe compoſitions or fines, the
 " king's lieutenant, or chamberlain, for Scotland, ſhould make a reaſonable and juſt extent of the lands of the offenders,
 " according to the preſent value of the lands; and, according to that extent, the compoſition or fine was to be levied, and
 " paid every year, at the uſual time of payment, half the value, and ſo from year to year till the whole was paid; and the
 " other half of their lands and rents ſhould remain to them, for their ſupport and maintenance.

" And it is to be known, that our will is not that this determination ſhould extend to, and be underſtood of, ſuch perſons
 " of the Scots as were priſoners on this occaſion; nor of ſuch as have not ſubmitted to our peace or faith. In witneſs
 " whereof, we have cauſed theſe our letters patents to be ſealed at Weſtminſter, the 15th day of October, in the 33d year
 " of our reign."

The title of this patent is, *Forma pacis Scotiæ*, "The form of the peace of Scotland." Tyrrel, vol. iii. fol. 163, 164.

A. D. 1305. that there is somewhat pretty singular in this pardon; for it is dated the 15th of November, 1305, and contains an indemnification to John Cummin and the archbishop of Glasgow, who thereby must be considered as rebels, even at the time while Edward was in some measure making his court to them, by employing them in forming the above scheme of union.

An oath attended the new regulation of government in Scotland. It is of a very extensive nature, and seems to be calculated equally for the benefit of king and people. It was taken by all the Scotch nobility. It does not appear that this oath was taken by Bruce, nor that, at this time, he was in England. Edward was too great a judge of mankind, not to foresee and dread his prodigious genius. He thought himself superior to Bruce in the gifts of nature, as of fortune. He was mistaken. Bruce knew the meaning of leaving him alone out of the list of commissioners, who were to attend on the part of his country. But this was not the only reason of disgust he had at this time. By the terms of the above-mentioned record, the commissioners had agreed, that he should surrender to Edward the strong castle of Kildrommy, which I conceive, as possessed of the honour of Garrioch, he kept. He knew it was not a proper season then for him to dispute; but he made good use of the interval: for he now laid the plan of that conduct, which afterwards rendered him the wonder and glory of that age; and, with free beings, the pattern of military virtue, and true policy to succeeding times. A real friendship had never subsisted between him and Wallace. The latter was the idol of the common people; and Bruce could never hope, after his own and his family's submissions, to make any figure, as a leading patriot, while that illustrious competitor was alive. But fortune soon delivered him from that perplexity. For Wallace, who never had laid down his arms, was, about this time, infamously betrayed by Edward's Scotch favourite Monteith. He was no sooner seized than sent to London, the English all the way flocking to see him, who had so often filled their country with terror and dismay, as he now did every generous breast with pity and admiration. Being brought to London, he was lodged in Fenchurch-street, and next day conducted to take his trial in Westminster-hall. In derision he was crowned with laurel, and assigned an eminent seat. His indictment, which accused him of treason, being read, he pleaded not guilty; and that it was absurd to accuse him of treason against a king, whose authority in Scotland he had never owned, and whose government he had ever disputed. It was not easy to get over this objection at that time, when Edward's late regulation with regard to the Scotch government had not yet taken place; but the judges, upon the principle that Edward was not only the direct, but now natural, lord of Scotland, voted him to die the death of a traitor, which was executed with every circumstance of barbarity. Thus fell a man,

Sir William Wallace is betrayed by Monteith;

condemned, executed, and quartered.

A. D. 1305. whom every free country must wish to have been its own; and Edward, in the execution of that sentence, by dispersing the mangled limbs of Wallace through several towns and places, dispersed reproach to his own memory through all climates, and through all ages.

This great rival of Bruce's ambition, or rather glory, being thus removed, that nobleman studied how to bring over Cummin to his interest, and those of his country. He had, at that time, no public post in the government, and his right to the crown was the same as ever that of his grandfather had been; while Cummin had an invincible obstacle to his ambition in the person of Edward Baliol, the son of John, whom his father's resignation could not, or, as was pretended, did not, affect. It could be wished, for the moral character of Bruce, that he could have carried on the noble views he had meditated, with less perfidy than he was forced to use: but oaths with the Scots of those days, when their country was in question, were rather considered as forms of speaking, than sacraments of obligation. This the most violent of that nation cannot deny, nor the virtuous justify. Had they acted the same gallant, sincere part that Wallace did, they had not been reduced to such a profuse expence, of prostituting whatever ought to be dear to men of honour, even admitting their final intentions to have been virtuous. In short, Cummin found he had no chance to be a king, he therefore thought it wise to secure the next place to royalty. While he and Bruce were under the most binding engagements to Edward, a compromise was entered into, and an indenture drawn, by which Cummin agrees to give Bruce his interest for the crown, and Bruce binds himself to own Cummin as first prince of the blood, and to give him all the private patrimony of the Bruce family. But it is easier for a middling genius to clamber to the summit of a mighty design, than from thence calmly to survey the mighty precipices he has to encounter, and the growing labours of the execution. The brain of Cummin turned; he grew giddy at the dreadful prospect, which pushed him on to betray his new engagement; since, if Bruce were removed, he must stand the first in estimation with Edward, and in power with his country. He sent the counter-part of his indenture with Bruce to the court of England, just at the time when that nobleman was setting out for London. He then went to England, and founded the prelates, who were at Edward's court, upon the design he was forming, and found no discouragement in his application; but he soon perceived he was beset by guards and spies. He was next ordered not to stir from London; and Edward, willing to preserve, as much as possible, the appearance of moderation, at last fairly produced the indenture, and demanded whether he knew the hand and seal. It was impossible for quick-eyed jealousy itself to perceive the least variation, prognosticating guilt, in the countenance of the ill-treated Bruce: he boldly

Mutual agreement between Bruce and Cummin.

Bruce betrayed.

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and escapes to Scotland.

Cummin stabbed at the altar in Dumfries.

boldly disclaimed all knowledge of the transaction: he offered, on pain of forfeiting life and fortune, to prove the writing a forgery, with such assurance, that he staggered Edward, who well knew what envy and malice might produce. In this uncertain situation of mind, and while Bruce was not yet a close prisoner, his brother-in-law, the earl of Gloucester, sent him an English shilling and a pair of sharp spurs. The mystical message awakened him to all the sense of immediate danger. He found means, about midnight, to get on horseback, with two servants, and by next morning was out of danger of pursuit. On the seventh day, he came to Lochmaben in Scotland, where he found a few faithful friends, who were privy to his design, assembled. To them he declares his resolution of instantly assuming the crown; and they all agreed, that their safety demanded the blood of Cummin. With this resolution they set out in quest of that unfortunate nobleman, whom they found at his devotions within a church in Dumfries (1). There Bruce, deaf to every call of virtue, and blind to every decency of religion, stabbed him before the altar.

This detestable, but necessary, action being performed, all the Brucian interest declared themselves in open war against Edward, who thus found all his schemes vain, that the glories of his life might settle in a calm evening of domestic tranquility. Trusting to the execution of the late establishment, he had drawn most of his forces out of Scotland; but these were partly supplied by the flaming resentment of the Cummins, for the death of their leader. They were not, however, able to bring force enough together, to hinder the Bruces from making a vast progress in a short time. The prelates, in ge-

neral, declared in his favour; and they were joined by the unsubmitting party, who had served under Wallace, and who, perhaps, thought that Bruce had sealed his sincerity in the blood of Cummin, since he was afterwards to expect no mercy from England. In short, Bruce was crowned in the abbey of Scone, by the countess of Buchan, sister to the earl of Fife; it having been with the Scots a sacred maxim, That one of that family should put the crown on the head of their kings. Whether the love of her country, or an affection to Bruce, who had a fine person, and was now in the flower of his youth, prevailed with this lady to act the part she did, is uncertain; but we know, that she stole from her husband, who was of the Cummin race, and therefore the sworn enemy of Bruce, that she might perform the ceremony of that coronation.

Robert Bruce crowned king of Scotland by the countess of Buchan.

Edward all this time was not idle. A pope had been lately chosen, who formerly had been archbishop of Bourdeaux, and was entirely in the English interest. With him he prevails to thunder out a sentence of excommunication against Bruce, who, despising it as trumpery, got himself absolved by a private prelate of his own, and thereby satisfied his subjects. Edward next dispatched Emaric de Valence earl of Pembroke, with the lords Robert Clifford and Henry Percy, at the head of a small army, to encourage and protect the friends of his government in Scotland, while he himself was preparing to support them in person with the whole force of his kingdom.

But the truth is, this defection of the Scots could not have happened at a more unlucky time for Edward. He never had been sincere in his oaths and promises with regard to the disforestation. He had lately revived

(1) Neither the Scotch nor the English historians are to be depended upon with regard to their accounts of the whole of this remarkable affair; but as the Scots had the best opportunities of information, I have inclined to them. It may not be amiss, however, to set down both accounts from Abercromby, who says, That Bruce, finding himself discovered, presently ordered his horses to be shod backward (for the ground was covered with snow, consequently the impression made upon it by the horses feet, if not by this means prevented, might have pointed out to the pursuers the road he had taken) and with only two servants, about midnight, took his journey for Scotland, with a full resolution to take instantly upon him both the title and authority of king. The title he could not so soon get, by reason both of the English garrisons and faction of the Cummins, who, he was now sure, would thwart this design: he was therefore obliged to begin, by extending the royal authority; and did it to its full, if not beyond the utmost, extent, it can be allowed. The seventh night after his departure from London, he arrived at his own castle of Lochmaben in Annandale, where he found his brother Edward Bruce, Robert Fleming, James Lindsay, Roger Kilpatrick, and Thomas Charters, all brave men, and beforehand determined to pursue any measures he (as their lawful sovereign) should set them upon. They had no time to lose, and therefore resolved to go all together in search of John Cummin. As they were upon the road, it was the Bruce's good luck to fall upon a second demonstration of his enemy's treachery, by means of a courier they met with by accident, who had but just then been dispatched with letters to the court of England. They were, by the same means, informed, that he was at Dumfries, and found him at his devotions in the church of the Minorites. Even there the Bruce (because, probably, the guilty Cummin refused to come out of the only sanctuary in which he thought himself secure) upbraided him with his repeated falsehoods, shewed him the letters he had but just then intercepted, and, in the heat of the contest, stabbed him with his dagger; and leaving him almost dead on the spot, went out of the church, and was again going to take horse, when James Lindsay and Roger Kilpatrick (surprized at the change they perceived in his countenance) asked him what he ail'd? He told them what he had done, and for what reasons; adding, That he believed that the Cummin was dead. "What!" (replied James Lindsay, with an air of indignation) "have you offered to kill him, and have not done it?" With these words he hastily went off, entered the church, and, with repeated blows, put the matter out of doubt. Sir John Cummin younger, of Badenoch, was, by his royal parentage, numerous vassals, great alliances, and opulent fortune, next to the Bruces, the most powerful man in the nation. He had been guardian of the kingdom, and aspired to be king, consequently was not to be offended by half; and it was plain, that as he could never forget the provocation he had given, so, while alive, he would never forgive the resentment he had met with. His cousin, Sir Edward Cummin, and some others belonging to their retinue, were, by the Bruce's followers, at the same time dispatched. This slaughter, of which all Scotch authors give much the same account, was committed on the 10th of February, 1306; but the English relate it less favourably to the actors. They positively declare (and I have not contradicted them, because I believe they are so far in the right) That king Edward was at the pains, as some of the Scots assert, to flatter both the Bruce and Cummin with the hopes of a crown, he had so eagerly sought, and he had now obtained to himself; neither do they tell us any thing of Sir John Cummin's breach of faith to Robert Bruce, but say (what I am confident was not, at the bottom, true) That he was most loyal and faithful to his lately-acknowledged sovereign king Edward, and would by no means comply with any design or attempt against him: That, to sound his intentions, the earl of Carrick charged his two brothers, Thomas and Niel, to desire a meeting with him in the cloister of the Franciscan friars at Dumfries, where, upon conference, the lord Cummin refusing to join with him in the design to make him king, he, in revenge, stabbed him: That Cummin, finding himself wounded, fled out of the cloister to the church for sanctuary; but that one of the Bruce's brothers, and others of his retinue, fearing he should recover, followed thither, and murdered him at the very altar.

A. D. 1306. his prosecution against some of the noblemen who had opposed his measures; and the archbishop of Canterbury having the same charge brought against him that the earl-marshal had before, was obliged to submit to his mercy. This was not enough; Archbishop of Canterbury suspended. for Edward having the pope entirely at his devotion, the archbishop was suspended from the exercise of his office, and summoned to appear at Rome. The next favour Edward received from the Romish see was, a gift of the tenth of all ecclesiastical benefices in England for two years, under the specious pretence of a crusade. His holiness, still unwearied in heaping favours upon Edward and his subjects, next appointed that mighty favourite the bishop of Durham to be patriarch of Jerusalem. And lastly, Edward obtained a bull, absolving him from his late oath with regard to his disforestations. This bull being publicly read, on Easter-day, 1306, caused a general discontent throughout all the kingdom. It put the subjects in mind of his father's days, who used to trifle with oaths, and to shelter himself under absolutions. To quiet them a little, he issued out what is called the ordinance of the forest, intending to prevent several trespasses in forests. This ordinance was at the same time accompanied with a writ, or letter, entered upon the same statute-roll with his ordinance, and of the same date, wherein Edward expresses himself much troubled in mind for the clamours of the people, who, as he there says, were much oppressed, impoverished, and injured by the officers of his forests; and, therefore, desiring to obviate these oppressions and grievances, which he could not pass by without great scandal or offence, and to provide for the peace and tranquility of the kingdom, he had issued out the aforesaid ordinance of the forests. This writ, or letter, was sent into every county of England, with command to the sheriffs to cause them to be read, and the ordinance thus sent with it to be proclaimed in a full county court. But all those arts, which however specious, were in breach of Edward's most solemn engagements, had apparently less influence on the minds of the people, than the insult offered to the dignity of the government, by the murder of Cummin, and the revolt of the Scots. To amuse them, therefore, he resolved to entertain them with a fine shew. He ordered proclamation to be made all over England, for those who had any title to the honour of knighthood, either by heritage or estate, to repair to Westminster by Whitsunday, there to receive all military ornaments (their horses excepted) from his royal wardrobe. The prince of Wales came under the description of this proclamation, as did the sons of above three hundred of the chief nobility and gentry in England, who had all very fine apparel furnished them by the king. The first received the order of knighthood, which gave him a right to confer the same, as he did, on all the other candidates, in the abbey-church of Westminster. Then putting himself at the head of this gallant train, they all repaired to the

The king issues out a proclamation for all to take the order of knighthood.

royal palace, where the king received them with great complaisance; but, before them all, protested with a solemn vow, that he would in person march against the Scots, to punish their perfidy; at the same time he commanded, with the deepest abjurations, that, if he should die in the expedition, his body should be carried to Scotland, and kept unburied till that race was chastised by some signal defeat. All the company assenting, Edward dismissed them to their several habitations; but with orders that they should meet him fifteen days after Midsummer at Carlisle, with all their military attendants and equipages, to proceed against the Scots.

In the mean time he invested the prince of Wales in the duchy of Aquitaine, and made The prince of Wales invested in the duchy of Aquitaine. fresh advances, by the mediation of the pope, for strengthening the good understanding between himself and the court of France. In short, nothing was omitted for securing the tranquility of the kingdom during his absence; and the archbishop of York, with the bishop of Lichfield and Coventry, were appointed guardians of the kingdom during his absence in Scotland. But Edward, in the interval, was informed of the good success of his arms under the earl of Pembroke. That nobleman had a commission to receive all into favour who should timeously submit to the English government. This had great effect; and one half of the Scots, led by the Cummins, declared against Bruce, who was then incamped at Methwen, in the county of Perth, secure, as he thought, from any assault; but they were mistaken. The insolence of Edward's officers, and the intelligence which the English general had that he should be superseded by the king himself, made him hearken to the advice of a Scotch gentleman, one Mowbray, to venture a bold stroke for his own honour. This gentleman shewed him how practicable it was to surprize the Brucian army, which was raw and undisciplined. The attack was accordingly formed, the Scots were routed, the bridle of their made king's horse was seized by Mowbray, who called out for help, because he had hold of the Scottish king. But Bruce was rescued by Sir Christopher Seton, and remounted by Simon Fraser, who that day, by the same service, three times saved Bruce's life. In short, Bruce, with the gentlemen about his person, made a noble and gallant defence, till they were all surrounded; and he himself, with but a very few followers, escaped out of the field, and took refuge in the castle of Kintyre, within the shire of Argyle. The prisoners of quality among the Scots were immediately executed as traitors, some few excepted of greater quality, and the shattered remains of the Scotch army, who were not with their king, fled to the mountains.

King Robert Bruce defeated by the earl of Pembroke at Methwen.

This battle was fought about Midsummer, and only a few days before Edward arrived with a great army in Scotland. He perceived he came to triumph, and not to conquer. He divided his army into two parts, one of which he sent northward, under the conduct of the prince of Wales, assisted by the

A. D. 1306.

Edward's barbarities to the Scots.

Rymer.

Bruce's hardships and difficulties.

Earl of Athol hanged on a gallows fifty feet high.

the earls of Lancaster and Hereford. These had the good fortune to seize Bruce's castle at Kildrommy, and many of his principal followers, with his queen and sister. After this successful expedition, the prince met his father at Dumfermling or Perth; and, by this time, all Scotland once more submitted to Edward's power. But he was so thoroughly exasperated with the Scots, that no submission could appease his thirst of the blood of those who had resisted. It were endless to recount the number of executions he ordered; nay, his resentment pushed him on to an unmanly fury; for the lady Mary Campbell, sister to Bruce, and the countess of Buchan, whom we have already mentioned, were shut up in wooden cages, and hung over the walls (the one of Roxburgh, and the other of Berwic) as a spectacle for the populace. In the mean time, Bruce, with his party, having with great difficulty kept himself out of the hands of his enemies, especially the lord Lorn, a relation of the Cummin family, was hunted from place to place, and all his little retinue being cut off, he was obliged, with two of his friends, the earl of Lennox and Gilbert Hay, to retire to places where they had no society but with the beasts of the field, and little subsistence but in common with them. He indeed essayed, while he was in this condition, to have conference with the prince of Wales, who durst not agree to it without his father's consent. But Edward was so far from granting that, that he reproached his son with even daring to give the traitor, as he called him, an opportunity of making the least application in his favour. This effort failing, Bruce had the mortifying news, that the two great pillars of his cause, the bishops of St. Andrew's and Glasgow, had been taken with arms in the field, and would, like others, have died the death of traitors, had it not been for Edward's respect to their function. But all this news, and the most wretched condition he was reduced to, served only to make Bruce cast about for new resources. Sir Niel Campbell was the third person acquainted with the place of his retreat; and, by his assistance, he got, in the beginning of the winter, to Kintyre, or the Western islands, places inaccessible to all but their inhabitants.

Edward, vainly looking upon Bruce as now dead, was proceeding with extreme severity, not to call it cruelty, against his family and adherents. His wife, who was sister to the earl of Ulster, was sent prisoner to England. His friend, the earl of Athol, was hanged on a gallows at London, fifty feet high. The steward of Scotland was obliged to make his submissions; and the following directions, to the English guardians and justices of Scotland, were published by Edward:

"It was agreed, by the king and his council, that the guardian of Scotland should cause to be proclaimed in all cities, boroughs, and market towns, and in all other places where he thought fit, that all such who were against the king in the

A. D. 1306.

last war, and were not come to his peace, and others who had committed felonies and other crimes, for which they ought to lose life or member, and were not taken, should be apprehended by any persons wherever they came; and to that purpose were to levy hue and cry, with horn and mouth, and pursue them with force from town to town, and country to country, until they rendered themselves, or were taken, dead or alive: and that those who neglected to do this, should lose all their goods, and be imprisoned during the king's pleasure. The guardian was likewise to enquire after the receivers of such persons, that they might have such justice as they deserved.

"It was then likewise accorded, that all those who were guilty, and abettors of the death of John Cummin, should be drawn and hanged; and those that advised and assented to it, and those who, after the fact, knowingly and willingly, or freely received them, should have the same judgment. And those that were guilty of his death, that were or should be taken by force in this war against the king, should be hanged, or have their heads cut off, and their receivers to have the same judgment.

"And all that were against the king, in the war, at any time, as well before, as in, and after the battle of Methwen, those who were the most notorious and dangerous of them should be put in prison where the king should appoint, and not be released but by his orders.

"And those who willingly were of the party of Robert Bruce, or who were aiding, advising, procuring, or persuading the people to rise, contrary to law, and were thereof convicted, whether clerks or others, should be imprisoned during the king's pleasure.

"And it was ordained, that the people of Scotland, who were forced to rise against the king in this war, should be fined as the guardian should see cause, and according to their offence. And, for the greater authority and execution of this agreement, the king caused it to pass under his seal of Scotland, and bears date at Lanercoft."

Edward had now made his enemy his footstool; nor were his triumphs over the factious in England less memorable than those over the insurrections of the Scots. He had the secret of keeping alive all charges upon former demerits, and of applying them as he saw it convenient. Sir Nicolas Segrave was one of the greatest knights then in England. He had been charged with treasonable practices, and Edward refusing his justifying himself, by combat, with his accuser Sir John Crumwal, he went abroad without the royal licence, that he might be more at liberty to prosecute his revenge. This was looked upon, by Edward, as a high insult upon the royal prerogative; and Segrave, upon his return, was capitally indicted. It is very doubtful upon what law he was committed; but

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Sir Nicolas
Segrave con-
demned
by a special
verdict.

but we are certain that the court, after a debate of three days among themselves, returned a kind of a special verdict. They found the fact proved, by which the accused forfeited life and estate; but they found that he had not left the kingdom in any contempt of the royal authority, but merely on a point of private revenge; so that it was entirely in Edward's power to shew him mercy. The king, very justly, both despised and hated them for this ridiculous sentence. "Has, said he, in a rage, all your debate terminated in this? Is there any instance that ever I denied mercy to those who applied for it? Yes, I know I can shew mercy to whom I please; but I will do it for your sakes, no more than for a dog's: let your judgment, however, be recorded as law." It cannot be denied that this proceeding was a high stretch of the feudal prerogative; but Edward meant it only for terror: for though Segrave was cast into prison, yet he was soon after bailed out for appearance by thirty of his peers. We meet with no farther civil transactions which could give Edward any uneasiness this year; and, before he left Scotland, he ordered a parliament to be summoned, to sit at Carlisle in the following January. In this interval numbers of Bruce's followers were taken, and sent prisoners into England, where they were committed to different castles, as appears by

Vol. ii. p. 112:

ibid.

The earl of
Britanny ob-
tains John Ba-
liol's English
estates.

a writ published by Mr. Rymer, where Edward is very particular with regard to the place and manner in which each prisoner should be kept. The household of Bruce's wife, in particular, is very minutely regulated. She was allowed, to attend upon her as servants, two grave women, not gay, but middle-aged; two valets, who were to be of the same character; and a sober, quiet foot-boy, to make her bed, and to do other necessary things about her room; and a butler for carrying her keys, and taking care of her poultry; with three huntsmen for her diversion, with the best house of the manor to live in, and venison and fish at her will. I have been the more particular in this, that the reader may have some idea of the oeconomy of those days. He likewise made a gift of all Baliol's English estate in favour of the earl of Britanny, and applied to the pope to have the abbey of Scone, because placed in the heart of a perverse nation, translated to some more convenient place.

But he was not all this time without infinite disquiets on account of Bruce. At first, all that prince's safety lay in his being thought too weak for annoyance, or to have perished for want. For some time he lay concealed in the isle of Raughrine; from thence he sent Sir James Douglas and Sir Robert Boyd to acquaint his friends of the continent of Scotland that he was still alive; and these arming, he secretly put himself at their head, and cut off a convoy of provisions designed for an English court in that country. His naked, half-armed followers, by this accident, being equipped with arms, and stored with provisions, he attacked the castle

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of Turnberry, which he took, and obliged the lord Henry Percy, who commanded for Edward in those parts, to retire towards England. All this was effected by no more than four hundred men, but at a season too advanced in the year for Edward to check his progress.

He was then at Carlisle, where he ordered Thomas and Alexander, two of Bruce's brothers, who were taken in an attempt to invade Galloway, to be executed. But the affairs of Scotland began again to be so cloudy; that little or nothing was done in the professed purpose of assembling the parliament; I mean the establishment and settlement of that kingdom. Edward, with all the policy he was master of, found one of the finest schemes that ever was laid, concerted and destroyed by a handful of wretches, miserable in all respects that can make life desirable; excepting their love either for liberty or revenge. This was the motive which made Bruce, at that time, while he fed and lodged without society of human kind, without any sustenance but what the uncultivated soil or bleak rocks afforded, more glorious than other monarchs; in all their flaming pomp of state. It was impossible for Edward to pluck this excruciating thorn out of his side; it preyed upon his vitals; the pain it gave him daily increased. The circumstances of Scotland were much altered from the time he had laid down the last scheme of its establishment: severity and lenity had been equally ineffectual; and neither power nor policy had extinguished the spark, which ever lives in minds who fear death less than dependance. In vain was every corner of the two kingdoms filled with sanguinary executions, or dreadful imprisonments. The shackled bodies and mangled limbs of the Scots, inspired the unsubmitting party with rage, instead of dread; and, late as the season was, Edward was obliged to order the earl of Pembroke, with the lord Lorn, at the head of a body of men, hardy as were his enemies, to advance in search of the Brucean party.

Though Edward, at this time, appeared at Carlisle, in the highest point of dignity that a sovereign of England knows, at the head of his parliament; yet he now met with an affliction in his own family, which gave him a farther proof that happiness seldom follows greatness. He saw, with parental concern, the dissolute courses of his son, the prince of Wales, who was entirely guided by Pierce Gaveston, his young Gascon favourite. He had several times endeavoured, in vain, to reclaim him, sometimes by gentle admonitions, sometimes by punishments favouring of severity; but at last, a fresh insult being offered to the bishop of Chester, it was resolved to proceed legally against the dangerous favourite. It was therefore adjudged by the king, as appears by a record still extant in the tower, that Pierce de Gavestone should, by May-day, 1307, take shipping at Dover, to go to Gascony, never to return into England without the

A. D. 1307:

King Robert
Bruce's two
brothers exe-
cuted.

State of the
English affairs
in Scotland.

Pierce Gave-
ston banished.

King Robert
Bruce leaves
his retirement
in the High-
lands,
and his pro-
gress.

A. D. 1307. king's leave or command. Edward, at the same time, ordered him a pension of a hundred merks sterling a year, on condition that he and the prince should solemnly swear to observe this sentence. And they gave their oaths accordingly.

Edward makes settlements upon his younger children.

An ambassador from the pope,

to settle all differences between the courts of France and England.

Edward having thus provided for the morals of his eldest son, did the same for the subsistence of his younger children. Upon his son Thomas he settled ten thousand merks, and six thousand upon his son Edmund. His daughter Eleanor had likewise ten thousand merks for her portion, and five thousand for cloaths. But, during the session of this parliament at Carlisle, the cardinal de St. Sabine came to Edward, on the part of the pope, to press the consummation of the long-depending marriage between the prince of Wales and the princess of France. Some discourse had revived about the affairs of the Holy Land, which made this pope the more zealous that all differences should be terminated between the courts of France and England. He had a plausible pretext for intermeddling in this matter, by pressing the execution of the treaty made under the award of his predecessor. But Edward, either justly offended with Philip, or finding such a compliance inconvenient at that juncture, declined going in person to pay his homage at Amiens, as he was obliged to do, by his treaty with France, upon the evacuation of Gascony by the French. The reason he gave was, because that the castle of Malion, a Gascon fee, was still detained by a lord to whom Philip had granted it. He was, however, much more tractable on the article of the marriage; and the cardinal thinking that to be the main point, or seeing that the state of Edward's affairs would not permit him to comply with the other terms of the treaty, set out for London, there to receive an answer to the dispatches he had sent to the court of France. He was followed by the prince of Wales, who had orders from his father, that, if those answers were favourable, he should immediately pass over to France, to celebrate his marriage.

Edward, all this while, was impatiently waiting the result of the earl of Pembroke and lord Lorn's expedition against Bruce. Both those noblemen had defeated that prince the year before. Bruce had a genius which had learned to improve under affliction, and to rise greater from defeat. Perceiving that the enemy's forces were far superior to his, he intrenched himself on the brow of a hill; but it was not long before he saw the Highlanders, under the lord Lorn, taking a compass, by which he would be soon surrounded and cut off. He instantly divided his army into three parts, he ordered them to march several ways, but all of them to rendezvous, by a certain time, in the wood of Glentroule, near Cumnock. This retreat being happily performed, Bruce's army received considerable increase, by the accession of new friends, and he obtained several advantages; but his whole force did not yet amount to a thousand men. With these, how-

ever, he knew so well to chuse his ground, and watch his opportunity, that he gave a defeat to the earl of Pembroke; and attacked a party under the earl of Gloucester so resolutely, that, after a bloody dispute, this nobleman was obliged to shut himself up in the castle of Ayre, till he was relieved by Edward. These successes raised the Scots from despair; the contagion of a free spirit flew from breast to breast; and Bruce, in a short time, found himself at the head of some thousands. A dangerous, because a desperate, foe!

It was now Easter in 1307, and Edward was in daily expectation of his forces, whom he had commanded to assemble at Carlisle three weeks after Midsummer. Some of them already had arrived, and those he sent to raise the siege of Ayre, and to deliver the earl of Gloucester. It would have been madness for Bruce to have weakened his army, by continuing this siege, or venturing a battle; though conqueror, he knew he must suffer, as he understood that Edward was preparing to set out; he therefore prudently drew off his troops, in reserve for a safer station, and better times.

But the period of the great Edward's life was now drawing near. He was in the sixty-eighth year of his age; a time when death may alarm, but ought not to surprize. He was, at first, seized with a flux, or dysentery; and though his case was desperate, yet his spirit was more violent than his disease. His army being fully assembled, he set out, the unable to march above two miles a day. When he came to a place called Burgh upon the Sands, he found nature too weak to proceed. He went to bed, and his spiritual monitors attended. His dying ejaculations, if we may believe cotemporary authors, were worthy a king and a Christian: "O Lord," said he, if thou thinkest it good for these thy people to have me here continue longer with them, I am ready to venture my life for them; but, if otherwise, thy will be done." On the 7th of July, after a reign of thirty-four years, seven months, and six days, while his servants were raising him that he might take some nourishment, he expired. I have already described Edward, as a man; the history of his reign is the best description of him, as a king. Where benefits are visible, when they are felt by posterity, it is ungrateful in them to enquire into motives. Under Edward the English constitution and civil polity was regenerated from the pollutions contracted under former reigns. It was he who repaired, enlarged, and strengthened the laws of England. Under him, that is, in less than five-and-thirty years, they acquired a greater degree of perfection from the state in which he found them, than perhaps they have since done from that state in which he left them. The excellent schemes of distributive justice made penal laws less necessary: these, for the most part, were inventions of weaker governments. By him the overgrown power of the pope and clergy was reduced; but the decent cherished.

A. D. 1307. Bruce defeats the earls of Pembroke and Gloucester.

King Edward dies at Burgh upon the Sands.

See p. 884.

He reformed and enlarged the English laws.

A. D. 1307.

rished. The bounds of inferior courts were settled, and the ordinary course of justice received very few interruptions from the interposition of prerogative. By him all the absurdities and hardships of law, under which the subject groaned, were abolished or explained; and there is a peculiar perspicuity,

both in the pleadings and laws of his reign, which no age since has equalled. As to the particulars, they cannot be better explained than in the words of the lord chief justice Hales, which the reader will find in the notes, and, though long, cannot but please (1).

A. D. 1307.

King Edward was twice married, as we Speed. have

(1) Having given you as brief an abridgment as I could of the most considerable statutes of this king's reign, that are now in force, either for altering or interpreting the common law where it was doubtful, I shall now, from the sixth chapter of the manuscript treatise of the late learned lord chief justice Hales (entitled, his History and Analysis of the Laws of England) proceed to give you the grounds and reasons of making several of them, with a brief view of the whole body of the law, as it stood at that time; and an account, likewise, of the manner and forms of pleadings then in use. King Edward I. may be truly stiled our English Justinian; for, in his reign, the laws attained a very great perfection; the pleadings short indeed, but excellently good and perspicuous: and although, for a time, some of those ancient imperfections and inconvenient rules still obtained, as for example, in point of descent, where the middle brother held of the eldest, and died without issue, it descended to the youngest, upon the pretence of that old rule in the time of Henry II. *Nemo potest esse dominus et heres*, and is more than once mentioned by Glanville; yet the laws never, in any one age since his time, have received so sudden and great an advancement; nay, I think I may safely say, that all the ages since his time have not done so much in reference to the orderly settling and establishing of the distributive justice of this kingdom, as he did within the short compass of the thirty-five years of his reign, especially about the first thirteen years thereof. Indeed, many penal and provisional statutes, in relation to the peace and good government of this kingdom, have been since made; but as to the administration of common justice between party and party, and the accommodating of the rules, and also of the methods and orders of proceeding, he did the most of any king since the conquest; and left the same as a stable, fixed rule and order of proceeding, very little differing from what we have now, I mean, as to the main substance and principal contexture thereof: I shall therefore give you some short observations touching the same.

I. He perfectly settled the great charter, and charter of the forests, not only by a practice consonant to them, but also by that solemn act (25 Edward I.) stiled, *Confirmationes cartarum*.

II. He established and distributed the several jurisdictions of courts within their proper bounds; and because this has several heads, I shall subdivide it, though not precisely following the order of time.

1. He checked the encroachments and insolence of the pope, and papal clergy, by the famous statute of Carlisle.

2. He declared the limits of ecclesiastical jurisdiction, by the statutes, *Circumspecte agatis*, and *Articuli cleri*; the latter of which, though published in the time of Edward II, yet was compiled in the beginning of this king's reign.

3. He perfectly established the limits of the courts of Common-pleas, putting in use that article of Magna Charta, *Communia placita non sequantur curiam nostram*; and, in express terms, extending that law to the court of Exchequer, by the statute of *Articuli super cartas*, cap. 4.

4. He established the extent of the jurisdiction of the steward and marshal; vid. *Articuli super cartas*, cap. 3.

5. He settled the bounds of the inferior courts, not only of counties, hundreds, and court-barons; but all other, which he kept within their proper and narrower bounds; and so, gradually, the common justice of the kingdom came to be administered by men knowing in them, and sitting in the great courts of King's-bench and Common-pleas; and also before justices itinerant; as also by that excellent statute of Westminster 1, cap. 35. Besides this, he kept the courts of great men within their due limits, under several penalties, wherein ordinarily very great encroachments and oppressions were exercised. The third general head that I observe is, That he did not only explain, but excellently well enforce, the statute of Magna Charta, by that, *De tallagio non concedendo*, made 25 Edward I; notwithstanding, it is placed without any certain year in our printed statute books.

6. He provided against the interruption of the common justice of the kingdom, by mandates under the great or privy seal, by the statute of *Articuli super cartas*, cap. 6. which, notwithstanding the statute of Magna Charta, cap. 29. were formerly too frequently in use.

7. He settled the forms, solemnity, and efficacy of fines; confining them to the courts of Common-pleas, and justices itinerant, whose records, in ancient times, were commonly removed to the King's-bench, after their circuits ended, whereby one common repository for the great assurances of lands might be kept; which he did by the statute of the 18 Edward I. *De modo levandi fines*.

8. He settled that great and orderly method for the safety and preservation of the peace of the kingdom, and repressing of robberies, by the statute of Winton.

9. He settled the method of tenures, to prevent multiplicity of mesuagies, which grew to a great inconveniency, and was remedied by the statute of *Quia emptores terrarum*.

10. He settled a speedier way for recovery of debts, not only for merchants and tradesmen, by the statute of *Acton-Burnel*, and *De mercatoribus*; but also of other persons, by granting an execution of the moiety of debtor's lands, by *elegit*.

11. He ordered an effectual process for the recovering advowsons and presentations to churches, which was formerly extremely lame and defective, by the statute of Westminster 2, cap. 1.

12. He made that great alteration in estates from what they were formerly, by the statute of Westminster 2, cap. 1. whereby the estates of fee-simple conditional, at the common law, were turned into estates-tail, not removeable from the issue, according to the ordinary methods of alienation; and upon this statute, and in order to the qualifications thereof, are the superstructures of those statutes I have now mentioned.

13. He introduced a quite new method in the laws concerning Wales, and in that of their administration, by the statute of Rothland.

14. In short, partly by the learning and experience of his judges, and his own wise interposition, he silently, and without noise, abrogated many evil and inconvenient usages, both in the courts of justice at Westminster, and in the country. He also rectified and set in order the present method of collecting his revenues into the Exchequer, and removed the obsolete and burthenome parts thereof out of charge; and by the statutes of Westminster 1. and Westminster 2, as also of Gloucester, Westminster 3, and *Articuli super cartas*; whereby he removed almost all that was grievous or unpracticable out of the law and the courts where it was administered, and substituted such apt, short, but effectual, remedies and provisions, as, by the length of time, and the experience of their convenience, have stood ever since, without any great alteration; and being incorporated with, became, in a manner, part of the common law itself: so that the very scheme and model of the common law, especially in relation to the administration of common justice between party and party, as it was highly rectified, and put in a much better order than his predecessors left to him; so the measure which we are to take for the true stating the law of England, as to what it now is, ought to be taken and estimated by what it was when the king left it. Before his time it was rude and unpolished, in comparison of what it was after its reduction; and as it was thus polished by him, so it hath hitherto continued the same, without any great or considerable alteration, abating some additions succeeding times have made, which are for the most part in the subject matters of the law, and not so much in its rules and ways of administration. And as to the repositories where those may be found, they are as follow:

I. Acts of parliament in the time of this king, full of excellent wisdom, perspicuity, and yet brevity, &c.

II. The judicial records in the time of this king: I shall only mention the rolls of judicial proceedings in the King's-bench, Common-pleas, and Eyre; and these written, for the most part, in an excellent hand; the pleadings very short, but perspicuous, and clearly and orderly digested, representing effectually the business they intend.

III. The rule and reason of the law, according to which they proceeded (which is many times expressly delivered upon the record itself) very clear and rational; so that their short, pithy pleadings and judgments do far better render the sense of the business, and the reason of it, than the long, intricate, formal pleadings, that are often unnecessarily used in later times.

IV. Of the terms and years of this king's time, only a few broken cases remain, and are reported and collected by Fitzherbert; but we have no successive terms and years of this king's reign, except some few ancient manuscript ones, though not running through the whole time of this king; but what remain, are very good and brief. The judges then spake less, or the reporters were not so ready-handed as to take all they said. Hence their brevity makes them the more obscure. But yet,

A. D. 1307. have already seen; first, to Eleanor, sister to Alphonso king of Castile, daughter to king Ferdinand III, and only child of Joan his second wife, daughter and heir of John earl of Ponthieu. She was married to him at Bures in Spain, in the thirty-ninth year of king Henry his father, 1254. She was crowned with him the day of his coronation, and living his wife, in lovely participation of all his troubles and long voyages, thirty-six years, died at Herdeby in Lincolnshire, the 29th of November, and of her husband's reign the nineteenth, A. D. 1290. She was buried at Westminster, at the feet of king Henry III, under a fair marble tomb, adorned with her portraiture of copper, gilt; other costly ornaments of her husband's love being in every place erected where the hearse rested, as it was conveyed from Herdeby to Westminster.

Margaret, his second wife (being sister of Philip IV, surnamed the Fair, king of France, and eldest daughter of king Philip the Hardy, son of St. Lewis) was married unto him at Canterbury, on Thursday the 8th of September, of her husband's reign 27, A. D. 1299. After almost eight years marriage, surviving him, she remained a widow ten years, and deceasing the 10th of Edward II, A. D. 1317, was buried at the Grey-friars in London, before the altar, in the choir, which herself had built.

His issue were as follow:

John, the eldest son of king Edward and queen Eleanor, was born at Windsor, in the reign of king Henry his grandfather, before his father's voyage into Syria; and, in his absence, was committed to the charge of Richard king of the Romans, his great uncle, and others, who procured principal men of every hundred in each county within the realm, to swear their fealty to his father and him; but he died shortly after, being a child, and was buried at Westminster, by the wall between St. Edmund's and St. Bennet's chapel, the 8th of August, in the last year of his grandfather king Henry's reign. There is remaining over him a tomb of marble inlaid, with his picture in an arch over it.

Henry, the second son of king Edward and queen Eleanor, deceased also being a child; the news of whose death was brought to his father, being then in the isle of Sicily, in his return from the Holy Land, not long before the report of his own father's death (king Henry) came to his knowledge. He was buried in St. Peter's church at Westminster, the 20th of November, in the first year of his father's reign, A. D. 1272, in the same place, and under the same tomb, where his brother John lies; with his picture also in the arch above it.

Alphonso, the third son of Edward and queen Eleanor, was born at the town of Maine in Gascony, as his father and mother were in their return towards England from Jerusalem, the 23d. of November, in the second year of his father's reign, 1273. He deceased at Windsor, the 4th of August, in the twelfth year of his age, 1285; and was buried at Westminster, in St. Peter's church, by St. Bennet's chapel, where his body lieth, under the tomb of his brothers John and Henry, his image also there portrayed with theirs.

Edward, the fourth son of king Edward and queen Eleanor, was born the 25th of April, in the 13th of his father's reign, 1284, at Caernarvon in North Wales; and was, after the death of Llewellyn ap Griffith, in regard of the place of his nativity, by his father's creation, with the consent of the Welsh, made prince of Wales; the first of the sons and heirs apparent of the kings of England that bore that title, which afterward became ordinary to most of the rest. He was also earl of Ponthieu and Chester; and being made knight by his father at London, on Whitfuntide, in the thirty-fourth year of his reign, 1306, succeeded him the same year in the kingdom of England and Wales.

Eleanor, the eldest daughter of king Edward and queen Eleanor, was born at Windsor, in the fiftieth year of the reign of her grandfather king Henry. She was married, with all ceremonies of proxy, to a deputy for Alphonso king of Arragon, son of king Peter, who deceased A. D. 1292, before the solemnization of marriage, leaving his kingdom to his brother James, and his new wife to another husband, who was married at Bristol, in the twenty-second year of her father's reign, 1293, to Henry III. earl of Barr, whose earldom lay in the east borders of Champaign in France. She had issue by him, Edward earl of Barr, from whom descended the earls and dukes of that country, whose inheritance, by heirs general, devolved to the kings of Arragon, and from them again to the dukes of Anjou, that were kings of Sicily. Henry, another son of hers, was bishop of Traves in Champaign. Helen, her daughter, was married to Henry earl of Blois; and Joan, to John Warren earl of Surrey. She was his wife five years, and deceased the twenty-seventh of her father's reign, A. D. 1298.

Joan, the second daughter of king Edward and queen Eleanor, was born in the first year of her father's reign, at a city in the Holy Land, sometime named Ptolomais, commonly called Acon and Acres, where her mother remained during the wars that her father had with the Saracens. She was, at eighteen years of age, married to Gilbert Clare (called the Red) earl of Gloucester and

yet, in those decisions, and brief interlocutions, between the judges and the pleaders, there appears a great deal of learning and judgment. There are some of those reports in the library of Lincoln's-Inn, and are reckoned among the best of that kind.

V. The law tracts which were written in the time of this wise and excellent prince, seem to be of two kinds, viz. such as were but only the works of private persons, and had not any great authority, but yet contain much of the law then in use, such were Fleta, the Mirror of Justices, Britton, and Thornton; or else they are sums or abstracts of some particular parts of the law, as Novæ Narrationes, Magna Hengham, Parva Hengham, Affiza de Bastardia, &c. By all which, compared with Bracton, there shall appear a growth and perfecting of the law into a greater regularity and order. And thus much may serve for the several periods of the growth of the common law, until the time of Edward II. inclusively.

A. D. 1307. Hereford, by whom she had issue, earl Gilbert, slain in Scotland, without issue: Eleanor, married first to Hugh Spencer (in her right, earl of Gloucester) and after to William Zouch of Richard's castle: Margaret, first married to Peter Gaveston earl of Cornwall, after to Hugh Andely earl also of Gloucester: and Elizabeth, lady of Clare, married first to John, son and heir to Richard Burgh, earl of Ulster in Ireland, mother of William Burgh earl of Ulster, and grandmother of Elizabeth duchess of Clarence; secondly, to Theobald lord Verdon; and lastly, to Sir Roger Damary. This Joan survived her husband, and was re-married to Sir Ralph Monthermere, a baron, father to Margaret, the mother of Thomas Montacute earl of Salisbury, of whom the now viscount Montacute is descended. She lived thirty-eight years, and deceased in the first year of her brother king Edward's reign, and is buried at the friar Austines in Clare.

Margaret, the third daughter of king Edward and queen Eleanor, was born at the castle of Windsor, in the third year of her father's reign, and of our Lord 1275. When she was fifteen years of age, she was married at Westminster, the 9th of July, in the eighteenth year of her father's reign, A. D. 1290, to John, the second duke of Brabant, by whom she had issue, duke John III, father of Margaret, wife of Lewis of Mechlin earl of Flanders, and mother of the lady Margaret, the heir of Brabant and Flanders, who was married to Philip duke of Burgundy.

Berengera, the fourth daughter of king Edward and queen Eleanor, was born the fourth of her father's reign, A. D. 1276, as John Euereiden, monk of St. Edmundsbury in Suffolk, hath recorded in his book of annals; but other mention there is none, but only from him; whereby it is likely that she did not live to be married, but that she died in her childhood.

Alice, the fifth daughter of king Edward and queen Eleanor, is, by Thomas Pickering, of the monastery of Whitby (who wrote the large genealogy of the kings of England, and their issue) reported to have deceased without issue.

Mary, the sixth daughter of king Edward and queen Eleanor, was born at Windsor, the 22d of April, in the eighth year of her father's reign, 1279; and, at ten years of age, A. D. 1289, September the 8th, she was made a nun in the monastery of Ambresbury in Wiltshire, at the instance of queen Eleanor her grandmother, who, at that time, lived there in the habit of the same profession, although her parents were hardly induced to yield their consents to that course.

Elizabeth, the seventh daughter of king Edward and queen Eleanor, was born in the castle of Ruthland in Flintshire, in the 13th year of her father's reign, A. D. 1284. When she was fourteen years of age, she was married at London to John, the first of that name, earl of Holland, Zealand, and lord of Friesland, who died, within two

years after without issue; and she was re-married to Humphrey Bohun earl of Hertford and Essex, lord of Bricknock, and high-constable of England, by whom she had issue John and Humphry (both earls successively after their father) Edward, that died in Scotland without issue, and William, who being created earl of Northampton while his brothers lived, after their decease, was also earl of Hertford and Essex, lord of Brecknock, and high-constable of England, and father of earl Humphry, the tenth of that name, and last of that house, who died without issue male. She had also by him two daughters, Eleanor married to James Butler earl of Ormond, and Margaret to Hugh Courtney, the first earl of Devonshire. She was this earl's wife fourteen years, lived thirty-three, deceased on the ninth year of the reign of king Edward, her brother, A. D. 1316, and was buried in the church of St. James, at the abbey of Saffron-Walden in Essex.

Beatrice, the eighth daughter of king Edward and queen Eleanor, bore the name of Beatrice duchess of Brittany, her father's sister. She is, by some genealogists, mentioned to have lived till she was marriageable; but yet, no mention being made of her match, it seems she died unmarried.

Blanch, the ninth daughter of king Edward, and the last of queen Eleanor, is so mentioned by Thomas Pickering, and some others; but not at all by Thomas Elraham, who made a pedigree of the kings of England: but she is, by the rest, reported to have died in her childhood.

Thomas, the fifth son of king Edward, and the first of queen Margaret, his second wife, was born at a little village in Yorkshire, called Brotherton, June the 1st, in the twenty-ninth year of his father's reign, A. D. 1300. He was created earl of Norfolk and earl-marshal of England, which earldoms the last earl, Roger Bigod, leaving no issue, left to the disposition of the king. He had two wives, of which the first was Alice, the daughter of Sir Roger Hales, of Harwich in Suffolk, by whom he had issue, Edward, who married Beatrice, the daughter of Roger Mortimer, the first earl of March; but he died before his father, without issue. And two daughters, Margaret, twice married, first to John lord Segrave, by whom she had Elizabeth duchess of Norfolk, wife of John lord Mowbray, from whom the Mowbrays, and Howards, dukes of Norfolk, and earls marshal descended. Secondly to Sir Walter Manny, a knight of Cambray, and by him had Anne, wife of John Hastings the elder, earl of Pembroke, and mother of earl John the younger, that died without issue. His youngest daughter, Alice, was married to Sir Edward Montacute, and had by him three daughters, Elizabeth and Joan married to Walter and William, two of the Uffords, and Maud, that died unmarried. The second wife of this earl Thomas was, Mary, the daughter of William lord Ros, and widow of Sir Ralph Cobham; who surviving him, without issue

A. D. 1307. by him, she was married the third time to William lord Brerose, of Brember.

Edmund, the sixth son of king Edward, and second by queen Margaret, was born at Woodstock in Oxfordshire, the 5th of August, in the 30th year of the reign of his father, A. D. 1301. He was created earl of Kent, and married Margaret daughter of John, and sister and sole heir of Thomas lord Wakes, of Lydel, in the county of Northampton. By her he had issue, two sons, and one daughter. Edmund, his eldest son, was earl of Kent after his father, and died under age, without wife or issue. John, the younger was earl also, after his brother. He married Elizabeth, the daughter of the earl of Gulike, and died likewise without issue. His daughter was Joan (for her beauty called the Fair Maid of Kent) first married to William Montacute earl of Salisbury; and

from him divorced, and remarried to Sir Thomas Holland, in her right, earl of Kent, and, by her, father of Thomas and John Holland, duke of Surrey, and earl of Huntingdon. And lastly, she was the wife of Edward of Woodstock, the black prince of Wales, and, by him, mother of king Richard II. This earl Edmund was beheaded at Winchester the 19th of March, in the fourth year of king Edward his nephew.

Eleanor, the tenth daughter, and sixteenth child of king Edward, and last child of queen Margaret, his second wife, was born at Winchester the 6th of May, in the thirty-fifth and last year of her father's reign, A. D. 1306. She deceased in her childhood, and was buried in St. Peter's church in Westminster, by her brothers John, Henry, and Alphonso, under the monument before named, with her picture over it (1).

(1) Taxes in this king's reign.

In the fourth year of his reign, A. D. 1276, the king, in parliament, had a fifteenth granted him by the earls, barons, great men, and community of the kingdom; and, by the archbishop of Canterbury and his suffragans, a subsidy of their goods (not said how much) as a free gift only, not to be urged or drawn into example.

In the fifth of his reign, the laity gave him a twelfth part of their goods, towards carrying on the war in Wales.

In the eleventh of his reign, again, towards the war against the Welsh, the laity gave him a thirtieth, and the clergy a twentieth, part of their goods.

In the eighteenth of his reign, he had a fifteenth of all their moveable goods granted by the archbishops, bishops, abbots, priors, earls, barons, and all others of the kingdom or government, as appears by the Chequer-roll in the nineteenth of Edward I, with the king's Remembrancer.

In the twenty-second of his reign, the prelates and clergy granted the moiety, or half, of their benefices and goods to be taken; one third, at the feast of All-saints next coming; a second third-part, fifteen days after Easter; and the last third-part, fifteen days after St. John Baptist then next coming.

In the same year, at a parliament, or great council, holden on the 12th of November at Westminster, when four knights were summoned from every county to consult, and consent to such things as the earls, barons, and great men should ordain, for themselves and the communities of the counties; upon the same day they met, viz. the 12th of November, and they gave the king a tenth part of all their moveable goods, &c. as appears by the writ or commission, appointing the assessors, taxors, and collectors for the same tenth. And, in the same month, after the 16th day thereof, the guardian, sheriffs, aldermen, and whole community of the city of London, granted a sixth part of their moveable goods, as a subsidy towards his war. The writ or commission, by which the taxors or collectors were appointed, bears date the 26th of November, 23 Edw. I.

In the same month, and about the same time of it, there were commissioners appointed to ask, require, and effectually induce, in person, the men of all his demesne cities and towns, in all the counties of England, by all ways they should see expedient, to grant a sixth part, as London had done, that it might shew example to others of his demesne towns.

A parliament was summoned to meet, the Sunday after St. Martin, or 11th of November; the writ bears date the 3d day of October; however, it met not then, but was prorogued, before meeting, to the Sunday before St. Andrew, or 30th of November, by a writ dated the 2d of November at Odimer. The clergy, in this parliament, gave the king a tenth; the earls, barons, knights, and others of the kingdom, gave an eleventh; and the citizens and burgesses, and other good men of his demesnes, gave him a seventh of their moveable goods: and the warrant for the appointment of the taxors or collectors, bears date the 4th of December.

In the twenty-fourth of his reign, the earls, barons, knights, and others of the kingdom, gave a twelfth part; the citizens, burgesses, and tenants of his demesnes, gave an eighth part. The clergy gave nothing, by reason of an inhibition the archbishop had obtained from pope Boniface; which inhibition, or bull, he caused to be published, at this time, in all the cathedrals.

In his twenty-fifth year, he had an eighth of all the laity, and a tenth of all the clergy, for the confirmation of the great charter and the charter of forests. Walsingham, in his history, says, the laity gave a ninth (which agrees not with the close roll, which says, an eighth) the clergy of the province of Canterbury gave a tenth, and the clergy of the province of York a fifth.

In the twenty-ninth of his reign, upon his confirmation of the perambulations of forests, the laity gave him a fifteenth of their moveables, in the parliament held at London; which they should have at Michaelmas then next coming. Robert archbishop of Canterbury would grant nothing for the clergy, without the special licence of the pope.

In the thirty-second of his reign, he being then in Scotland, as appears by the dates of the commissions at Dumfermling and Stirling, to several commissioners, to tax, talliate, or assess talliage on cities, boroughs, and on his demesnes in cities, and boroughs, either capitation by poll, or in common, according to their faculties and wealth, as it might turn most to his advantage.

In the thirty-third year, the king having summoned a parliament at Westminster, to raise money for the war against the Scots, there was given him, by the clergy, nobility, and knights of the shires, the thirtieth penny of all their moveable goods; and, at the same time, the citizens and burgesses gave a twentieth part of the same estates. In this parliament, also, the archbishops, bishops, prelates, earls, barons, and other tenants of his demesnes, petitioned that they might have leave to talliate their tenants of the same demesnes, as he had talliated them; and it was granted. About this time he had a fifteenth granted him in parliament.

In the thirty-fourth year, the king, intending to knight his eldest son, summoned the archbishops, bishops, abbots, priors, earls, barons, and other great men, to be before him and his council, on the morrow of Holy Trinity, to treat of, and grant, an aid upon that occasion. He also sent to all the sheriffs of England, to cause to come before him and his council two knights of every county, and of every city two citizens, and of every borough one or two burgesses, as the borough was greater or less, &c. These same prelates, earls, barons, and other great men, and also the knights of shires, treating deliberately upon this matter, and considering there was an aid due as aforesaid, and that many burdens were incumbent upon the king, by reason of his war in Scotland, unanimously granted to the king, for themselves and the whole community of the kingdom, a thirtieth part of all their temporal moveable goods, &c. for a competent aid toward the knighthood of his son, and also for an aid towards his expences which he was to be at in the war. Also the citizens and burgesses of cities and boroughs, and others of the king's demesnes, assembling together, and treating about the premises, considering the burdens incumbent upon the king, &c. unanimously granted unto him, for the causes aforesaid, a twentieth part of their moveable goods.

Remarkable occurrences in this king's reign.

In the third year of his reign, a general earthquake happened in England; it threw down St. Michael's church, on the hill without Glastenbury in Somersetshire: it also rained blood in Wales. [Matt. Westminster.] In his sixteenth year, the same author writes, that as the king and queen were talking together in their bed-chamber, a flash of lightning struck in at the window, passed by them, killed two of their servants who were waiting upon them, but did them no prejudice. In the following year, there was so great plenty, that wheat was sold in some places at twelve-pence a quarter; and not many years after for twenty shillings a bushel, as much as four pounds now.

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and debts due to the crown, forgiven by the charter of king Henry I, 426. Finnan, bishop of Lindisfarn, baptises Sigebert the Great, king of Essex, and consecrates Ced bishop of East Saxons, 142. Fitz-adelm, William, appointed lieutenant of Ireland after Strongbow, 550. Is recalled from his government, and succeeded by Hugh de Lucy, 553. Fitz-arnulph, Constantine, a citizen of London, heads a mob, 706. Offers 15,000 merks for his life, but is hanged, 707. Fitz-cutger, Gilbert, admiral of the Cork fleet, defeated, and by whom, 544. Fitz-geoffrey, John, justiciary of Ireland, defeats the Welsh in Anglesey, 750. Fitz-gerald, Maurice, takes Dublin, 521. Obligated to serve as knight under Robert Fitz-bernard, governor of Wexford, 536. Fitz-haimon, reconciled to William Rufus, 399. Conquers part of Wales, 405. Pays a hundred shillings to a monk, by the king's orders, 420. Sides with king Henry I. against Robert, 426. Fitz-matthew, Herbert, defeated by David prince of Wales, 748. And killed by the Welsh, 749. Fitz-osbern, a Norman nobleman, builds 40 ships at his own expence, for the English expedition, 317. Is relieved by William the Conqueror, bearing his helmet upon his shoulder, 321. Commands the van of the Normans, at the battle of Hastings, 322. Is appointed one of the regents, and made earl of Arundel and Hereford, 355. Advises William to rob the monasteries, and has the isle of Wight and earldom of Hereford, 368. Fitz-peter, Geoffrey, appointed one of the regents for king Richard I, 573. Is made chancellor to king Richard, 617. And earl of Essex by king John, 625. Dies, 655. Fitz-stephens, Robert, engages in the expedition for Ireland, 519. Takes Wexford, and defeats the Irish at Ossory, 520. Betrayed by the priests of Waterford and Kildare, 535. Is restored to liberty by king Henry II, but stripped of all his acquisitions, 536. Gets the kingdom of Cork for a reward of his services, 552. Fitz-thomas, Thomas, mayor of London, his disorderly government of the city, 795. Fitz-walter, Robert, accused of high treason by king John, flies to France, 647. Is sent deputy by the barons to invite over Lewis prince of France, 689. Fitz-warren, Fulk, sent messenger from the barons to Martin, the pope's nuncio, 749. Is killed at the battle of Lewes, 797. Flamborough, where Ida, the Saxon, first landed, 104. Flamens, are succeeded by Christian bishops, 75. Flanders, Baldwin earl of, destroys Normandy, and besieges Bures, 443. Dies of a wound he received at Ou, 444. Flanders, William earl of, dies of a wound in the wrist, 452. Flanders, Theodoric earl of, endeavours to reconcile young Henry and his brother Geoffrey, 498. Flanders, Philip earl of, joins young Henry, and does him homage, 538. Takes a solemn oath before the king of France, to invade England, 540. Besieges Roan with the king of France, 542. Delivers young Henry's charter to the elder Henry, and obtains a confirmation of his pension, 546. Promises not to marry his nieces without Henry's consent, and visits Becket's tomb, 551. Is made first minister to the king of France, 555. Confirms his allegiance to king Richard, 613. Besieges Arras, and distresses the king of France, 616. Takes St. Omer and Aire, 619. Declares for king John, and does him homage, 624. Makes an advantageous peace with Philip, 627. Flanders, Baldwin earl of, takes the cross, 631. Is made emperor of Constantinople, and taken prisoner by the Saracens, 638. Flanders, Ferdinand earl of, opposes the king of France in council, 648. Joins in the confederacy against Philip, 658. Is made prisoner at the battle of Bovines, 660. Flanders, Baldwin earl of, and emperor of Constantinople, his history, 712. And ignominious death, 713. Flanders, Thomas of Savoy earl of, brother-in-law to king Henry III, comes to England, and receives his pension, 738. Flanders, Margaret countess of, seizes upon the effects of the English merchants, and upon what account, 816. Flanders,

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- Flemings, transplanted into Wales by king Henry I, 439. Their manners and character, 450. Ordered to depart the kingdom by king Edward I, 883.
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- Fowen, groom to king Richard I, 879.
- Framingham castle surrenders to king Henry, 542.
- France, Philip Augustus king of, routs king Henry's army, and takes Mans and Tours, 563. His final agreement with king Richard I. confirmed by the clergy of both nations, 575. His offers to the emperor, to detain king Richard prisoner, and letter to earl John, 596, 598. Forces his way through the English army to Gisors, 615. Summons king John to appear at his court, and passes sentence upon him for the murder of young Arthur, 631, 634. Conquers all Normandy, and annexes it to the crown of France, 637. Demands hostages of the English barons, 689. Dies, 708.
- France, Lewis prince of, is invited over by the English barons, 688. His claim to the crown of England by his wife Blanch, 690. Comes to London, and receives the homage of the English barons, 691. His treaty with young Henry, 702. Is absolved by the legate, and returns to France, 703. Refuses to deliver up Normandy to king Henry III, and his reasons for it, 708. Declares war against England, and takes several towns in Poitou, 710. Dies, 715.
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- France, Philip the Fair king of, receives the homage of king Edward I, 903. And summons Edward to appear before his court, 915. Makes a treaty with the king of Norway, 917. A league between him and John king of Scots, and articles of it, 920. Makes a truce with king Edward, and articles of the same, 936. Loses all his conquests in Flanders, 945.
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- Frederic, abbot of St. Alban's, rebels against William I, retires to the isle of Ely, and dies, 371.
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- Gelacius, pope, calls a general council at Rheims; his political behaviour; and is bribed by king Henry I, 447.
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- Genoese, one warns king Richard I. of his danger, and alarms his camp, 591.
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- Geoffrey, natural son of king Henry II, demolishes a fort at Axholme, 541. A farther account of him, 570, 837. Obligated to pay 3000 l. for the temporalities of the archbishopric of York, 574, 839. Is forbidden, by king Richard, to return to England during his absence, 576. Is dragged from the altar to prison, 583. Reconciled to chancellor Longchamp, 603. His bishopric sequestered, 605. But restored upon his paying 3000 merks, 608. Refuses to pay a tax to king John, 639. Accused of irregularities, 840. And suspended by the pope, 841. Dies, 846.
- Geoffrey, archdeacon of Norwich, put to death by king John, 644.
- Gerard, archbishop of York, goes deputy to Rome from king Henry I, about the investitures, 431.
- German merchants obtain a confirmation of their gift of Guild-hall from king Edward I, 892.
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- Margaret, queen of Scots, called the Maid of Norway, proposed to be married to prince Edward, and articles of agreement thereupon, 908. Dies in her return to Scotland, 910.
- Margaret, daughter of king Edward I, married to the son of the duke of Brabant, 910.
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- Matilda, daughter of the earl of Flanders, and queen of king William I, crowned by Aldred archbishop of York, 362. Dies, and buried in Trinity nunnery in Caen, 386. A farther account of her and her issue, 391.
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- Matilda, king Stephen's queen, besieges and takes Dover castle, 468. Settles the preliminaries of a peace between her husband and her uncle David king of Scots, 470. Concludes a match between her son Eustace and Constance of France, 474. Solicits the empress Maud to set her husband at liberty, raises forces, is supported by the Londoners, and was buried at Feversham, 491.
- Matilda, king Henry II's daughter, is married to Henry duke of Saxony, 514. Is sent over with a splendid retinue, 519. Came with her husband to Normandy, 555.
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- Monteith, Sir John, 951. Betrays Sir William Wallace, 953.
- Montfort, Almeric de, conspires against king Henry I, 439. Is obliged to resign the earldom of Eucreux, 440. Excites king Lewis to renew the war against Henry, 446. Is taken prisoner at the battle of Terond, but escapes to France, 450.
- Montfort, Simon, comes to England to push his fortune, and marries king Henry's sister, 734. Obtains a confirmation of his marriage from the pope, and is made earl of Leicester, 735. Subdues the rebels of Gascony, 754. Is accused of oppressions by the Gascons, and impeached, 760. Abuses king Henry in parliament, and is sent over again to Gascony, 761. Lays down his commission, 763. Is commanded

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Montfort, Henry, eldest son of the earl of Leicester, commanded at the battle of Lewes, 796. Is made governor of Dover castle, and warden of the Cinque-ports, 798. Is slain with his father in the battle of Evesham, 806.

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- Richard**, prior of Dover, made archbishop of Canterbury; his canons in the synod of London, 833, 834. His difference with the archbishop of York; writes to the pope in vindication of the bishops living at court, 835. His death, 838.
- Richard**, archbishop of Canterbury, opposes the clergy being taxed; his dispute with Hubert de Burgh about the castle of Tunbridge, 720. Goes to Rome, and dies in his return to England, 721, 815.
- Richard I**, born, 501. Is invested, by the king of France, in the duchy of Aquitaine, for which he does homage, 522. Receives the homage of the earl of St. Giles for the earldom of Thoulouse, 537. Rebels with the confederates against his father, and invades Guienne, 538. Reduces Poictou, and demolishes all the forts, 545. Reduces Auxé, and demolishes Bayonne in France, 550. His conquests and success in Poictou, 554. Does homage to Henry, his elder brother, for the duchy of Aquitaine, 557. Differs with his father, seizes his treasures in France to fortify the castle of Poictou, and takes the cross upon him, 560. Goes to the Holy Land, to perform his father's vow, 564. Character of his government; he confirms peace with France, 571. Confers large estates on earl John, sells all public places, his oppressions, and coronation, 572. His oath at his coronation, disposes Glanville, performs his engagement with the king of France, with respect to the crusade, 573. He renounces all pretensions of fealty from the king of Scots, or his subjects, and upon what terms, 574. His gross error in politics, with respect to his brother earl John, and Longchamp, 575. Appoints the admirals of his fleet; his maritime laws and regulations, 578. Restores the earldom of Northumberland and manor of Sadbury to Pudsey bishop of Durham, 579. He goes to Messina, his difference with Tancred king of Sicily, he seizes a Sicilian monastery, 580. Takes Messina; the terms of accommodation between him and Tancred, 581. Appoints a new regency in England, 582. Takes Limozum and Cyprus, 585. Consummates his marriage with Berengera, puts Isaac emperor of Cyprus into silver fetters, and takes Acon, 586. His difference with the duke of Austria, and cruelty to the Saracen captives, 587. His adventure near Joppa, he repairs Acalon, 588. Gives the kingdom of Cyprus to Guy of Lusignan, 589. Raises the siege of the castle of Joppa, and defeats Saladine, 591. Falls sick at Joppa, makes a truce with Saladine, and returns for England; but is shipwrecked near Ragusa, 592. Is taken prisoner by the duke of Austria, 593. Forms a conspiracy against the emperor, 595. A fresh agreement between them, 597. Is set at liberty, 598. Returns to England, and holds a parliament at Nottingham, 600. His preparations for Normandy, his charter to the king of Scots, 601. Is crowned a second time at Winchester, reconciles the chancellor and archbishop of York, and goes to France, 603. Defeats the French before Verneuil, and is reconciled to earl John, 604. Seizes upon the bishoprics of Durham and York, and sends commissioners of inquest through the kingdom, 605. Institutes courts of inquisition in Normandy, and lays a tax upon tournaments, 607. Receives a crown of gold from the emperor, 608. His answer to Philip's proposal, 609. Reforms his life, and makes a peace with Philip of France, 611. Invades France, and account of the battle of Gisors, 618. Is wounded, his death, and behaviour to Bertram who wounded him, 620. His character, wife, and issue, 621, 622.
- Richard**, earl of Cornwall, and brother to Henry III, born, 697. Is knighted by his brother Henry; made earl of Cornwall, 711. And earl of Poictou, 712. His difference with Henry; but is reconciled, 715. Marries the countess-dowager of Gloucester, and sister to William earl-mareschal, 720. Sharply upbraids his brother for breach of faith and honour, 734. His countess dies, and he goes to the Holy Land, 738. Goes to the French camp, with only a truncheon in his hand, and procures a truce from Lewis, 743. Marries, for a second wife, Cincia, the daughter of the earl of Provence, and sister to the queen, 745. Has an interview with the pope, who offers to make him king of the Romans, 754. Deferts the English party, 755. Refuses the pope's offer of Naples and Sicily, 763. Is elected king of the Romans; his immense riches, 775, 776. Is obliged to comply with the barons, and the form of his oath, 786. Is taken prisoner by the earl of Gloucester at the battle of Lewes, 797. And sent by Leicester to the tower, with his son, 798. Who sequestrates his estates into his own hands, 804. Is set at liberty by prince Edward, after the battle of Evesham, 806. Marries, for a third wife, Beatrix, a German lady of no fortune, 815. Procures a final reconciliation between prince Edward and the earl of Gloucester, 816. His death and character, 817.
- Rivaulx**, Peter de, made treasurer of the chamber to king Henry III, 723. Is sent to the tower for malversation in his office, 730.
- Rishanger**, William, continuator of Matthew Paris, 876.
- Roan** surrenders to Philip king of France, 637.
- Robberies** committed by the king's servants, 754. And at Botolf's fair in Lincolnshire, 906.
- Robbers**, their punishment, and who are so called, 138, 815.
- Robert**, a Norman, and archbishop of Canterbury, prosecutes Emma for incontinency with the bishop of Winchester, 296. He with his retinue escapes, and goes to France, 303.
- Robert**, eldest son of king William I, rebels against his father, and defeats him at Gorberot, 379. Commands an army against the Scots, and founds Newcastle upon Tyne, 381. Mortgages the Contantin to his brother Henry, 398. Is betrayed by the governor of St. Wallaries, and makes peace with Henry, 402. And with his brother William, and terms of it, 403. His generosity to Henry, 404. His reasons for engaging in the crusade, 415. Mortgages Normandy to his brother William, 406. Is chosen king of Jerusalem; but refuses it, 419. Henry's fleet revolts to him, 428. Is taken prisoner, and sent to England, 435, 436. His death, reflections on his bad treatment, and character, 454.
- Robert**, bishop of Chester, sent deputy to Rome about the investitures, 431.
- Robert**, natural son of Henry I. Vide Gloucester.
- Rochelle**, taken by the king of France, 710. And terms of capitulation, 711. Attacked by the English fleet, 915.
- Roches**, Peter de, bishop of Winchester, chosen guardian to king Henry III, 705. Is made prime minister in the place of Hubert de Burgh, 723. His bad conduct in advancing foreigners, 725. His contrivance to destroy the earl-mareschal, is removed, and ordered to retire to his bishopric, 729. Is called to account; but goes to Rome, 730. Dies, 735, 850.
- Roches**, William de, surrenders the castle of Mans to king John, 626. Joins the French, and takes Angiers, 637.
- Rochester** destroyed by Ethelred king of Mercia, 151. Justus ordained Bishop of by St. Augustine, 167.
- Rochester**, Putta bishop of, is forced to fly to Sexwulf bishop of Mercia, 171. Is besieged by the Danes, and relieved by Alfred, 218. Is defended by Odo against William Rufus, 400.
- Rochester**, the castle of, surrenders to king John, who hangs the garrison, 686. Retaken by prince Lewis, 691.
- Rockingham** castle, where was held a meeting of the states about archbishop Anselm, 412. Defended by the earl of Albemarle against king Henry III, 705. But surrenders for want of provisions, 706.
- Rod**, carried by Ralph earl of Chester, high constable of England, as an emblem of his office, 731.
- Roderic**, king of Wales, surnamed the Great, makes war upon the Mercians, 199.
- Roderic**, king of Connaught, expels Dermot king of Leinster, 519. Calls a general meeting of the Irish to expel the English, and makes peace with

with Dermot, 520. Breaks with the king of Limeric, and obliged to resign his command, 521. Beheads Canute, Dermot's son, 535. Besieges Dublin, but is defeated by the earl of Striguel, *ibid.* Swears fealty to king Henry, 536. Concludes a peace with king Henry, and terms thereof, 547, 548.

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Roger earl of Hereford, rebels against William I, 377.

Roger, king Stephen's chancellor, carried to the Devizes with a halter about his neck, 471.

Roger, bishop of Salisbury, and chancellor to king Henry I, is made high justiciary, 451. His character and preferments, 457. His farther character, 460.

Roger de Lacy rebels against William Rufus, to make Stephen earl of Albemarle king, 410.

Roger, archbishop of York, takes the castle of Malefarch for Henry II, 541. Is made governor of the northern forts, 552. His death, and his treasures seized by Henry, 557.

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Robert Stuteville made governor of it by king Henry II, 552. Surrendered to king Edward I, 923.

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- Sherwood, where Edward the Elder defeats the Danes and Irish, 232.
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- Shrewsbury, Robert, a clerk, appointed coadjutor to Richard de Lucy, lieutenant of Ireland, by Henry II, 557.
- Shrewsbury, Robert de Belleme earl of, succeeds to his estates in England and Normandy, 427. His character; forms an association in favour of Robert duke of Normandy, 428. Refuses to submit to Henry I, and fortifies his castles, 430. Is dispossessed of his English estates, goes to Normandy, and raises a new rebellion there, 431. Attacks the territories of Henry and Robert, and is joined by the earl of Mortaign, 432. Retakes Amanisca, and defeats duke Robert, 433. Escapes out of the battle of Tinchebray, and is reconciled to Henry, 436. Supports young duke William, and invades Normandy with the earl of Anjou, 439. Is confined prisoner for life in Warham castle, 440.
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- Sigebert, king of East Angles, is banished into France by Redwald, where he is baptized, succeeds his brother Eorpwald, erects schools, and is slain in battle by Penda, 155.
- Sigefert and Molhar, two Danish noblemen, murdered by Edric, 269.
- Sigefrid, archbishop of York, is made bishop of Wexia, in East Gothland, where he dies, 340.
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